

# •NUCLEAR• TIMES

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## Looking Ahead



### Test Ban

### Defeat MX

### A "New" Freeze



### March on Washington



### Peace Ribbon



### Direct Action

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## Post-Election Analysis

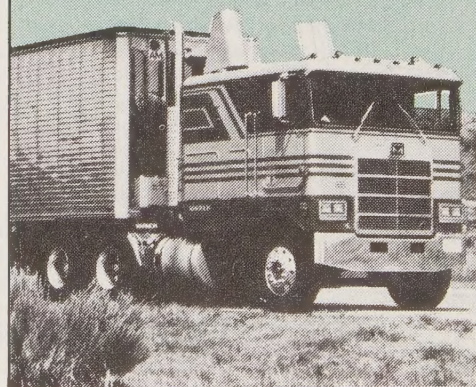
By David Corn

For Walter Mondale what happened on November 6 may indeed add up to "zero, none, zip, nada," as Dan Rather put it. But for the movement to prevent nuclear war the results were mixed: worse than some hoped, better than many feared. Now that the dust has settled what does it all mean? A look at some key wins and losses, the effect they may have on the fate of arms control measures in the next Congress, and what the failures and successes portend for the movement.

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## Tracking Nuke Trucks

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# Letters

## Good "Bi-" For Now

Reporting that "direct action" topped the list of NUCLEAR TIMES survey respondents' priorities for 1985 gave me a jolt. Nonviolent direct action would give freeze opponents the very thing they need to destroy us: visual "proof" to the whole world that when we said bilateral we always meant unilateral.

I do not mean to imply that in 1985 the Freeze Campaign can get along without a fresh dynamic. And I am not arguing against nonviolent direct action in general. Under Gandhi and Martin Luther King the power of nonviolence was amazing and for the good. But does this necessarily mean that blocking nuclear weapons tests in Nevada with our bodies instead of our votes is good? Could it help us get a bilateral freeze? Almost certainly it could not even get us a unilateral freeze. But it could—and it would—get us nailed with the very label our opponents have tried to pin on us from the start: unilateral freeze-niks.

Randy Kehler has assured everyone that "nonviolent direct action is not being explored as a substitute for essential education, outreach and legislative and electoral work. . . . Rather," he said, "we are exploring nonviolent direct action as a complement to these other approaches."

Please join me, if you will, in looking at a Nevada Test Site action. Picture on your TV screen backpackers, surrounded by sagebrush and soldiers, calmly talking about having just blocked an underground nuclear test. The TV camera now focuses on a freeze banner. Next we see people being loaded into U.S. Army personnel carriers and hauled off to prison. Over the rise the camera shows a new batch of freeze people approaching.

What more could our opponents ask for? In the eyes of the entire TV public we have "proven" ourselves to be unilateral opponents of U.S. defense. From that day forth the Freeze Campaign's clout with the American voter can only fade to where Congress stops paying our lobbyists the slightest attention. Is it too late to say no to the whole direct action strategy, at least for the Freeze Campaign?

—Harold Waterhouse  
Pacific Palisades, Ca.

The disarmament movement has to move forward from freeze resolutions towards a demand for the immediate abolition of nuclear weapons. The focus should be on the irrationality, the illegality and the immorality of nuclear

weapons, yet instead the debate revolves around verification, number, accuracy, etc. Getting caught up in this rhetorical exercise masks the horror of these instruments of mass destruction. Calling for arms control only legitimizes the bombs. The peace community's agenda should proceed in the area of direct action. We must avoid talking peace in favor of acting for peace.

—Max Obuszewski  
Baltimore, Md.

## United We Fall?

One recent thought I had on the coordination/independence "unity" problem: With Reagan reelected I believe that the risk of some sort of fascistic, police-state measures may be in store, and it would probably be easier to suppress a highly centralized peace organization. Therefore, the organizational and funding relationships need to be carefully thought out to combine effective coordination with a degree of independence.

—John Atlee  
Silver Spring, Md.

## Smog Alert

One form of air pollution overlooked in most commentaries on the acid rain condition was described in your "Shock of the Bay" article (Nov. '84). The simulation of the electromagnetic pulse (EMP) from a nuclear explosion is but one form of electromagnetic smog (EMS). EMS contributes to atmospheric energy levels which formulate weather conditions and stimulate the formation of air ions. In the energetic atmosphere loaded with EMS the positive ions are able to overwhelm the negative ions surrounding vegetation, creating stress which shows up in trees as yellowing and early loss of needles or leaves. Positive ions which are not neutralized when they enter the earth or water show up as an acidic condition.

Some examples of technologies in addition to EMP testing which are (or would be) prime contributors to very energetic EMS include high-powered military radar and communication systems, stealth technologies, directed energy weapons such as lasers and other "star wars" type weapons. It is desirable that more light and less smog be focused on the EMS issue to expand the growing body of information that shows how the continuing arms race is detrimental to the environment.

—Paul Schaefer  
Kansas City, Mo.

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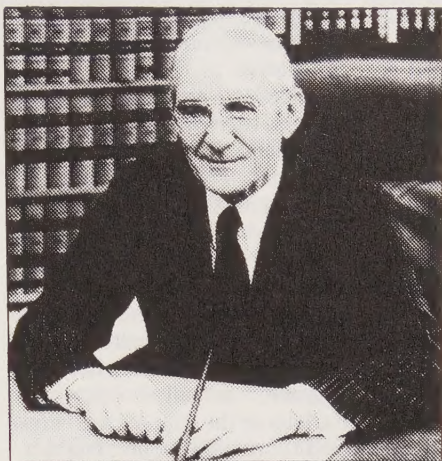
# EARLY WARNINGS

**RED ALERT:** It took awhile for the story to come out, but now the truth can be told: The Soviet Union, in response to President Reagan's "We begin bombing in five minutes" remark, declared war on the United States on August 15.

This story was first reported, weeks after the fact, by the *Yomiuri Shimbun*, one of the largest daily newspapers in Japan. It reported that monitoring stations in Japan had picked up a partly coded message transmitted from the Soviet Far East military headquarters at Vladivostok to a command station 50 miles north, saying: "We now embark on military action against U.S. forces." Thirty minutes later, Vladivostok sent another message, cancelling the first. During the interval, Tokyo and Washington kept in constant communication but no unusual moves by Soviet forces were detected. Japanese government officials described the half-hour wait as "the longest time in history." The newspaper said that the "grave incident" was hushed up by Washington and Tokyo, perhaps so as not to harm President Reagan's reelection chances.

Alarmed by this report, Representative Michael Barnes of Maryland asked the Pentagon for an explanation. National Security Agency officials told Barnes that the lower-level Soviet official who announced the alert was not authorized to do so, and that his order was countermanded by his superior. The NSA officials referred to the 30-minute "war" as a non-event. "It sounded like an event to me," commented one Barnes aide. Others observed that the incident seemed like a page from Paul Bracken's recent book, *The Command and Control of Nuclear Forces*, which warned that America's nuclear strategy and communication system is so tightly-wound that "reinforcing false alarms"—they go on alert so we go on alert so they go on higher alert, etc.—could lead to a nuclear war based on nothing.

**LORD HAS MERCY:** Miles Lord, the controversial federal judge recently profiled on *60 Minutes*, is at it again. In a remarkable conclusion to a typical Plowshares-type trial, Lord gave suspended sentences on November 8 to two disarmament activists who had caused \$36,000 damage to computer parts at a Sperry Corporation plant in Eagan, Minnesota. "What is so sacred about a bomb, so romantic about a missile?" Lord asked. "Why do we condemn and hang individual killers while extolling the virtue of warmongers?"



Lord: "What's so sacred about a bomb?"

The activists, John LaForge and Barbara Katt, had been convicted by a jury of damaging government property by hammering on computer parts for the Trident submarine and F-4 Phantom jet. Sperry currently has \$1.3 billion in contracts from the military. The company had come afoul of Judge Lord earlier this year when he angrily denounced a decision by the government not to prosecute company officials who had fraudulently overbilled the Pentagon \$3.5 million for work they performed on an MX missile contract. In suspending the sentences of LaForge and Katt, Lord noted that there seemed to be two standards of justice, "one for the mighty and one for the meek." Lord stated that Pentagon and military contractors "exert a powerful presence upon a judge in my position to go along with the theory that there is something sacred about a bomb. . . . I would here in this instance like to take the sting out of the bomb, attempt in some way to force the government to remove the halo with which it seems to embrace any device which can kill and to place thereon a shroud, the shroud of death. . . ." To those who would argue that by his action he was encouraging other acts of destruction Lord explained: "If others do likewise, they must be dealt with at that time. . . . my conscience is clear."

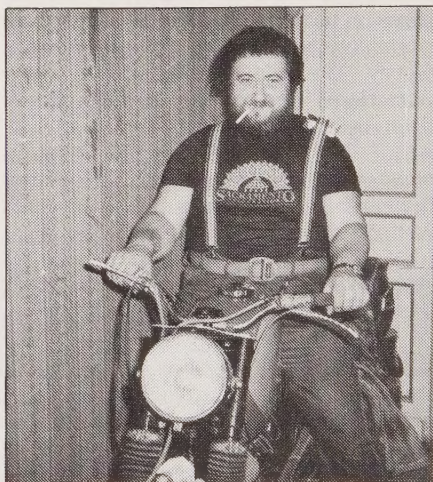
Lord said he expected protests against his action and indeed the next day federal offices in Minneapolis received dozens of angry phone calls and the *Minneapolis Star and Tribune* denounced his "overblown, moralistic posturing."

**THE BEAR TRUTH:** What could possibly unite Helen Caldicott, presidential assistant Michael Deaver and former CIA Director William Colby? All are fans of

photographer Jim Terr, who recently compiled a "two-sided" 1985 calendar called "People in Important Places." The work presents striking color photos of ordinary Soviet and American citizens, in groups and alone, posing in their homes or on motorcycles, and most looking pretty cheerful despite the official chill in US/USSR relations.

The calendar—which features an intriguing 3-D photo that requires a mirror to view—is the result of a trip Terr took to the Soviet Union in 1982, and follows in the tradition of the "Forbidden Faces" campaign undertaken by the Fellowship of Reconciliation (See *Resources*, p. 20). So far, Terr has mailed 500 calendars to churches, peace movement leaders and groups, and government offices. He has also shown the photos—in the form of a slide show—to Rotary and Kiwanis clubs.

"I'm not pushing a blatantly political message—it's a human one," says Terr, "so people not active in the peace movement are more receptive to it. It's important for these images of Soviet people to be available in addition to all the negative information we get." Terr plans "by hook or by crook" to circulate the calendars in the Soviet Union. In the meantime, he's sorting through fan mail from the likes of Norman Mailer, Studs Terkel, and even Deaver—although *he* may still need a little convincing. "I thoroughly enjoyed



Moscovite with Marlboros: Calendar pin-up

seeing the pictures," Deaver wrote to Terr, "of what *appears* [our italics] to be just plain people." (Calendars available for \$3—or 2 for \$5 plus \$1 postage—from Terr at 1037 Seventh St., Las Vegas, NM 87701.)

**THINGS ARE TOUGH ALL OVER:** Iraq tried to buy material for nuclear weapons on the Italian black market. Pakistan attempted to smuggle atom bomb parts out of the United States, received critical nuclear know-how from China and made



progress toward producing weapons-grade uranium. Brazil accelerated its program to develop atomic weapons capability by 1990. Argentina disclosed that it had a plant that could produce bomb-grade uranium, and its new Alfonsín government decided to continue the nuclear policies of the country's former military rulers. Libya established stronger nuclear ties with Argentina and Belgium in its bid to acquire nuclear weapons.

From the nuclear proliferation standpoint, 1984 has been a very bad year, according to a new report from the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. In fact, according to the report, *Nuclear Proliferation Today*, virtually every one of the eight "emerging" nuclear powers has taken important steps toward building or expanding its weapons programs. The report, which has just been published in hardback (Balingier Publishing) and paperback (Vintage Books), was written by Leonard Spector, a senior associate at Carnegie. (He helped draft the 1978 Non-Proliferation Act.) According to Spector, South Africa may have already built 15 to 25 nuclear weapons, "Pakistan and India may be poised on the brink of a major nuclear arms race," and nuclear competition between Brazil and Argentina "appears to be intensifying."

**STRAPHANGERS STRATEGY:** The ad features a photograph of a kid, his eyes round and beseeching, his face a study in worry. The bold headline offers an explanation: "One-third of American children believe they will die in a nuclear war." That's the message bus and subway commuters recently contemplated in nearly 30 cities across the country in a campaign undertaken by Communica-

tors for Nuclear Disarmament (CND), a Boston, Massachusetts-based group of writers, photographers, television producers and other "media professionals."

The campaign was aimed at the general public: the 70 percent of the population who support a nuclear arms freeze but are not active in the peace movement. "We need to communicate with these people and turn that consensus into a serious political force," says CND's executive director, Patricia Brady.

The ads—over 4000 of them—ran for a one-month period this fall in cities like Boston, Chicago, Dallas, Miami, Cleveland and Portland, Maine, and contained CND's phone number and address. While Brady reports that calls came in from "virtually every place where the ads were placed," not all of them were from the curious or the supportive. A few accused CND of exploiting and frightening children; others insisted that they were being "duped by the Russians." As a result, their next advertising campaign, scheduled for the spring, may combat the public's Soviet-phobia. In the meantime, the group plans to spread the word about the joy of inexpensive mass transit advertising. Two-and-a-half dollars, for example, will buy a non-profit group an 11" x 28" space on a Chicago bus for one month; in Boston, one of the most expensive cities, the fee is \$5.00. (CND quotes \$7.00 as an average cost for printing and one-month posting of bus ads.) How-to booklets are due out this month.

**GETTING THEIR OLLIES:** More than 300 attended the second annual Olive Branch Award ceremony in New York City. Winners of "Ollies," presented by the Editors' Organizing Committee and The Writers' and Publishers' Alliance for Disarmament "for outstanding magazine



*Hoyt Spellman of The New Yorker accepts award as presenter Harry Belafonte and organizers Ann Pleshette Murphy and Bob Bender look on.*

coverage of the nuclear arms issue," were *The Atlantic* (for an article by NUCLEAR TIMES board member Thomas Powers), *The Christian Century*, *The New Yorker* (for articles by Jonathan Schell and Freeman Dyson), *CHEM-TECH*, *Ms.* (a story by Grace Paley on the Seneca Women's Encampment), *The Quill*, *Parade* (Carl Sagan's "Nuclear Winter" piece), *Foreign Affairs*, *Science* (for R. Jeffrey Smith's continuing coverage) and even *Newsweek*. Presenters included Jane Alexander, Arthur Miller, Judith Rossner, Lee Grant, Ron Silver, Jules Feiffer and Edward Herrmann.

**RAINBOW NOT OVER:** "The presidential campaign is over," says Jack O'Dell, international liaison of the National Rainbow Coalition, Inc., "but that's the only campaign that's over." The Rainbow Coalition, the Reverend Jesse Jackson's erstwhile campaign apparatus, has incorporated as a non-profit political organization in Washington, D.C., and plans to continue to be active within the Democratic party and the peace movement, with chapters and affiliates in every state. Antinuclear groups under the Rainbow are in the process of forming a Peace Caucus to promote war and peace issues within the organization, to the public, and in local elections.

The Rainbow Coalition Peace Caucus, says spokesperson Tony Watkins of Clergy and Laity Concerned, will fight for the same initiatives raised by Jesse Jackson during the primaries, which include a no-first-use pledge, a 20-to-25-percent cut in the 1986 Pentagon budget, a non-interventionist foreign policy and a nuclear freeze. Fifty-five activists, including representatives of nine national peace groups, met at the Brooklyn, New York office of Representative Major Owens on November 10. They unanimously agreed, says Watkins, that the Caucus must address social issues, such as racism, economic injustice and

## Blips

The U.S. Navy will be making yet another "homeporting" decision this month, deciding where to dock the refurbished **U.S.S. Missouri**, which may carry nuclear weapons. San Francisco Mayor Dianne Feinstein is pushing hard for the honor, along with officials from Long Beach, CA and Honolulu .... Sources say that the Pentagon will propose a whopping increase in next year's **defense budget**—up 13.9 percent to \$337.7 billion .... **Helen Caldicott** became embroiled in controversy in Maine this fall when parents of some students at a junior high school where she had spoken were outraged that she had painted a gloomy picture of the future. Libby Mitchell, a U.S. Senate candidate on whose behalf Caldicott was speaking, reportedly apologized for her remarks .... Although we never signed **SALT II**, the United States has been staying within limits prescribed by the treaty. But **SALT II** expires in December 1985 and a new study by the Federation of American Scientists concludes that it would be "strategic lunacy" for the United States to let the treaty lapse (as many predict it will) because the Soviet Union, which has also been abiding by the limits, is in a "much better position to exploit any lapse" .... Record numbers of students are signing up for **Soviet studies** classes on campuses, and the Modern Language Assn. reports that 30,386 students studied Russian last year, up 27 percent from 1980 .... The **neutron bomb** may be coming to Europe, after all, through the back door. While affirming the current ban on neutron weapons, Congress recently approved a program to replace 1200 nuclear artillery shells with new projectiles which can easily be converted into neutron "enhanced radiation" weapons .



starvation in third-world nations, in order to successfully form a multi-racial, broad-based peace coalition. The Caucus has been endorsed by leaders of several antinuclear groups, including SANE. It plans to meet with more national peace groups sometime before the proposed national Rainbow Coalition convention in February.

**IF I HAD A JACKHAMMER:** While thousands of Americans lined the streets to watch Veteran's Day parades, four peace activists drove into the Whiteman Air Force Base, 35 miles east of Kansas City, Missouri, and attacked a Minuteman II missile launch site. The four Catholic activists—Carl Kabat, his brother Paul Kabat (both priests), Helen Woodson, and Larry Cloud Morgan—drove up to missile launch site N-5, undetected, at approximately 9:55 a.m. Knocking the chain and lock from the site's protective fence, the group went to work with a 90-pound air compressor and jackhammer, demolishing all of the site's "anti-intrusion" instruments, and breaking through a 50-pound concrete lid covering the silo. Then they destroyed the combination lock on the second lid to the silo.

The Air Force, which at first insisted that the damage to the site was minimal, now estimates it at over \$25,000. The Air Force initially maintained that security personnel were on hand after just 20 minutes, but the activists, who call themselves the Silo Pruninghooks, say that they were on the site for over an hour.

This is the eleventh Plowshares action to take place since 1980. The four, initially refused bail, are in the County jail in Kansas City, Missouri, charged with destruction of government property, and could receive maximum sentences of 10 years and a \$10,000 fine. The activists are preparing *pro se* defenses, based on a creative "plea for the children."

**STATUTORY RAPE:** Veterans and civilians hoping to win damages for cancers they believe to be caused by atomic tests have suffered a grave blow. The culprit is a five-paragraph section hidden in the lengthy Defense Department authorization bill passed in September and not discovered until recently. The action grants private contractors immunity from any test-related claims by converting lawsuits against them into suits against the federal government. This seemingly innocuous statute has the effect of cancelling over a thousand pending lawsuits,

*continued on page 22*

*Items for this section were contributed by Cathy Cevoli, Agnieszka Fryszman, Alex Miller and Mordecai Spektor.*

## Blue~Prints

Studies, Proposals & Brainstorms



Bob DeGrasse is trying to change the terms of the debate over the Reagan administration's Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI). He doesn't want to discuss whether the controversial antiballistic missile program can actually work. ("Saying something's infeasible gets you into a very difficult debating situation.") Instead, DeGrasse wants to focus attention on the price tag for the Star Wars program, because, in his view, SDI "has received virtually no scrutiny as a public investment."

DeGrasse and Stephen Daggett are co-authors of "An Economic Analysis of the President's Strategic Defense Initiative," a report recently published by the Council on Economic Priorities (CEP). Billed as the first study of the economic implications of the administration's \$26 billion, five-year, research and development (R&D) program for SDI, the report predicts that the full-scale program costs will run between \$400 and \$800 billion. By contrast, the entire Pentagon budget this year is \$292 billion.

Lt. General James Abrahamson, director of SDI programs, has challenged the accuracy of the study's cost estimates so early in the program.

But in an interview in CEP's New York office, DeGrasse defended his estimates as conservative. "We threw out two pretty broad figures—\$400 and \$800 billion," he says, chuckling. "You could fit a few aircraft carriers and a couple of military budgets into that and still have plenty of room. So it's not very exact, but it does give a sense of the likely costs based on the average relationships between R&D and full program costs."

The main problem with the SDI budget, according to DeGrasse, is that technological uncertainties handicap realistic cost expectations. And the overall goals of SDI, he points out, have quietly, but significantly, changed since March 1983 when President Reagan introduced SDI as a means of achieving total population protection and rendering nuclear weapons obsolete. Now, according to DeGrasse, those goals are officially viewed as long-term prospects and a new, "interim" goal has cropped

up—protecting U.S. ICBM's.

The costs of this expensive quest for improved missile protection, according to DeGrasse, will be borne by the national economy. The study predicts that in 1986 alone, research on SDI will consume almost one-third of all new R&D spending. DeGrasse predicts that, among other areas, this will short-change basic R&D, new product development, and the expansion of existing high technology consumer markets. And because the requirements of SDI technology are so specific—and the fact that engineers must work in virtual secrecy—DeGrasse foresees very few spillover benefits from SDI research to the commercial market.

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In the fall issue of the journal *Foreign Policy*, Jeremy Stone, director of the Federation of American Scientists (FAS), outlined his argument for no-presidential-first-use of nuclear weapons (see NUCLEAR TIMES, Oct./Nov. '84). Stone advocated wresting control of the decision to "go nuclear" from the executive branch and make it instead a joint matter to be worked out by the president and a congressional Nuclear Planning Committee. Since the publication of his proposal, Stone has been seeking endorsements and meeting with members of chapters of the Lawyers Alliance for Nuclear Arms Control in several cities in an effort to focus attention on the legal and constitutional issues raised by the no-first-use issue.

FAS first expressed concern over the authority to launch a nuclear first strike in 1972. Three years later, after Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger threatened to use nuclear weapons against North Korea if it launched an attack on the South, FAS sketched out a bill that called for making any presidential first-use decision contingent upon approval by a congressional committee. Stone says his current position differs from the 1975 bill in one important respect—the earlier view did not hold, as Stone is now asserting, that presidential first-use is *unlawful* without a declaration of war authorized by Congress.

Stone believes that his Nuclear Planning Committee proposal is more feasible than trying to enact a total no-first-use ban, because he feels that "no president will be moved to adopt no-first-use, but he might be willing to share responsibility with Congress." In the latest *FAS Public Interest Report*, Stone explains how his proposal could be assimilated into NATO strategic doctrine. Right now, Stone points out, "when fighting starts in Europe everyone will be consulted *except* Congress."

—Corinna Gardner



## NEW COALITIONS MAP STRATEGIES

# A March And Ban

As antinuclear and arms control groups across the country met to plan strategy for 1985 following President Reagan's November landslide, two coalitions put forth projects which they hope will mobilize the movement in the months ahead: a bold push for an end to nuclear weapons testing and an April 20 mass march on Washington.

The Washington rally is being organized by an as-yet-unnamed coalition. Mobilization for Survival spearheaded early planning for the April march which will emphasize the "deadly connections" between the arms race, human needs, and intervention in Central America, as well as call for an end to apartheid in South Africa.

The drive for an end to nuclear weapon tests and for the reopening of negotiations on a Comprehensive Test Ban (CTB) treaty is being organized by the Washington-based Campaign to End All Nuclear Explosions, led by Greenpeace, the Center for Defense Information (CDI), and the Committee for National Security (CNS). The coalition will encourage antinuclear groups around the country and the world to organize protests and events coinciding with the fortieth anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima on August 6, as well as the March 1 anniversary of U.S. tests at the Bikini atoll and the September 1 opening of the Geneva Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Conference.

CDI will serve as an information clearinghouse for the campaign, and will print a monthly newsletter on local and international activities. CNS and Greenpeace have just published a booklet called *Preventing Nuclear War: The Case for a Comprehensive Test Ban*. The coalition is working on a legislative strategy to build on last summer's "Sense of the Senate" resolution backing a CTB treaty. It calls for a U.S. testing moratorium, sparked by congressional funding cut-offs, which would be conditional on Soviet reciprocity.

The Non-Proliferation Treaty established a *quid pro quo* of sorts between nuclear and non-nuclear nations. The non-nuclear countries agreed not to develop weapons in exchange for progress on arms control on the part of the five major nuclear nations. At the Geneva review conference, many delegates will undoubtedly object to the absence of

arms control agreements since their first conference in 1980. Test ban organizers hope to make a CTB treaty the focus of any call for arms control generated by the conference because, as Greenpeace's disarmament director Eric Fersht puts it, "the only thing needed for a CTB treaty is political will. The document is 90 percent drafted."

The CTB coalition includes groups as diverse as the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), which is organizing an international petition drive, and Physicians for Social Responsibility (PSR), which is sending organizing kits to its 153 chap-



ters, planning speaker tours and placing newspaper ads, and working within International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War's own CTB drive.

SANE and the Freeze Campaign are also planning to make a CTB a key issue in 1985. Freeze organizers have promised that a CTB will at least be a part of their legislative strategy for the 99th Congress. "The only difference between a bilateral testing freeze and a comprehensive test ban is in the name," one Freeze Campaign organizer says. The House Foreign Affairs Committee has already committed itself to conducting hearings on the test ban issue next year.

Some who remember Greenpeace's previous occupations of the Nevada test site expect the group to develop a novel direct action effort. Greenpeace's Fersht refuses to divulge any specifics for 1985, but he does say any planned actions will be multilateral. "We mean business," Fersht says, "we know what we are talking about, and we intend to capture the

world's imagination." Many groups not a part of the CTB coalition are planning their own actions in Nevada on August 6, and some sort of occupation at the test site was a major part of the Freeze Campaign's proposed direct action agenda.

## MARCH IN APRIL

Meanwhile, plans for the mass march in Washington are being mapped out. What's certain is that, following the pattern of the giant June 12, 1982, New York City rally, the April 20 march will include some civil disobedience, and a Sunday prayer service.

The Washington "mobilization," as some organizers call it, will also include congressional lobbying. And planners hope to use Washington's geography to emphasize their points. "We have four main themes," says the War Resisters League's Susan Pines, "and we are thinking of having three or four different marching groups. One could start at Health and Human Services, one at the South African Embassy, one at the State Department, and then they could all converge on Constitution Avenue," she explains.

Pines stresses that Reagan's victory makes the march all the more important: "The reelection makes it seem like there is a consensus behind his policies and we have to show there isn't. We have to be militant and vocal." Based on prior experience, however, it seems to be a fact that the more militant the mood, and the broader the agenda, the less likely the march is to attract single-issue antinuclear participants in large numbers. And, in fact, organizers stress that they do not expect to even approach the June 12 turnout. "This is not a disarmament demonstration," Pines points out, "it is a peace and social justice demo."

Raoul Rosenberg, executive director of the Freeze's Downstate New York campaign, is the kind of mainstream antinuclear activist the Washington marchers would like to attract. "We all have to cooperate," Rosenberg says, "but the Freeze Campaign should be as American as apple pie. We have to be wary of becoming marginalized on the left. We may do direct action, but it is important that it is not unilateral. We will probably participate in the Washington march, but our participation will be contingent on how visible the freeze issue is. Bigger and better banners is not what I'm talking about," he explains, "organization is."

But if the Washington march does begin at four different locations, that could provide the Freeze Campaign and other antinuclear organizations with the



focus and the visibility they need. Although it may not draw June 12 numbers, the bringing together of what might be four different coalitions into one march could give the event a symbolism and an energy all its own. —Douglas Lavin

#### ELECTION FALLOUT

## New Congress May Axe MX

**W**hat do the election results portend for the never-say-die MX missile? Predicting the outcome of votes on the MX is not one of the easier tasks for Congress watchers, but anti-MX lobbyists believe that there is now a 51-49 majority against the missile in the Senate. (The last time the missile faced a test in the Senate, last June, the vote was 48-48, and MX opponents figured that the full Senate vote would have been 50-50.) With Representatives Tom Harkin of Iowa and Paul Simon of Illinois replacing two MX supporters (Senators Roger Jepsen and Charles Percy, respectively) and pro-MX Mitch McConnell unseating Walter Huddleston, who opposed the missile, the net gain for the anti-MX forces in the Senate is one.

However, one lobbyist notes that West Virginia Governor Jay Rockefeller, a Democrat who won the seat being vacated by anti-MX Senator Jennings Randolph, and who is assumed to oppose the missile, "is still a bit of a mystery to us." A spokeswoman for Rockefeller told NUCLEAR TIMES that he "hasn't formulated his position on the MX at all." And reporters for the *Charleston Daily Mail* say that arms control issues were barely mentioned during his campaign. Asked whether he supported the freeze in an interview with the newspaper in June 1984, Rockefeller talked all around the issue, seeming to endorse "the mutual aspect and the verifiable aspect" but concluding that the freeze "will never happen."

Rockefeller's wife, Sharon, was an early supporter of Betty Bumpers' group, Peace Links, but has not been actively involved in the organization since.

Another volatile Democratic MX vote belongs to Albert Gore, the moderately liberal congressman who won Howard Baker's seat in Tennessee. A spokesman for Gore told NUCLEAR TIMES that Gore did not publicly address the MX issue during his campaign and is currently "re-studying" his position. Last year Gore was one of the "Gang of Three" in the House—the others being Norm Dicks and Les Aspin—who cut a deal with the

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STICKY SUBJECT

## Should Lobbyists Tackle Trident II?

Next year, for the first time, the new Trident II submarine-launched ballistic missile may receive close attention on Capitol Hill. Unlike its cousin, the MX, the Trident II is virtually invulnerable and causes no environmental impact problems in Western states. Every year a small group in Congress attempts to halt the Trident II, and every year they drum up less than 100 votes in the House. The peace movement, wary of taking on an impossible task with a major victory on the MX in sight, has not pressed hard on the Trident II, destabilizing as the missile may be (it is so accurate that many consider it a first-strike weapon).

But now that may be changing. A philosophical debate is beginning within the movement concerning whether those who oppose all new nuclear weapons can, in good conscience, continue to say little about the Trident II, which may in fact be more dangerous than the MX. The Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy is one group that has decided to press hard in Congress next year on the Trident II (which is also known as the "D-5"). This weapon, the Coalition's Howard Morland points out, raises fundamental questions about what the movement stands for: disarmament or arms control, idealism or practicality? Americans for Democratic Action, a leading liberal group, is "turning up the volume on the D-5," according to ADA lobbyist Martin Stone.

There's a growing sentiment in Congress to oppose the President, Stone asserts, and he feels that a repeat of the MX campaign may be in the offing. "When the D-5 finally becomes a political issue you'll see a big change," Stone says. "We expect to get a lot more votes—from new people like [Representative] Pat Schroeder."

Christopher Paine, senior policy analyst of Physicians for Social Responsibility in Washington, D.C., and a leading weapons expert, lately has been talking more about the Trident II himself. But he warns against launching another "single system" lobbying attack on the missile, such as the one against the MX. New amendments to stop the Trident II will not pass, Paine says, and with the missile set to begin flight testing in 1987 "we don't have five years to build support." So the movement, Paine says, needs a new, comprehensive approach—

a flight testing moratorium on *all* new systems, based on mutual acts by the Soviets.

But how would movement lobbyists deal with those moderate members of Congress whose votes against the MX have, in a sense, been purchased with the argument that the United States has the Trident II to fall back on? "We'll use the argument that the Soviets will be racing to deploy their accurate, counterforce, submarine missiles in the 1990s," Paine explains. "So why not try arms control *now* while we have an edge in submarines even without the Trident II? The Soviets would have to stop more systems than we would." Lobbyists working against the MX have asked those who want to start highlighting Trident II to wait until after the next round of votes on the MX is completed in the spring.

—Greg Mitchell

SEW AMAZING

## Ribbon 'Round The Pentagon

On the 40th anniversary of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings, as many as 10 miles of peace ribbon may be tied around the Pentagon, outside Washington, D.C. The project, supported by Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and the YWCA, among others, was the brainchild of a Denver, Colorado grandmother, Justine Merritt, and may become a centerpiece of the August 6 memorial demonstrations. Portions of the ribbon are already on display at Chicago's Peace Museum in an exhibit subtitled "a celebration of life."

Merritt wanted to "show that all kinds of people object to the possibility of nuclear war." In 1981 she wrote to 40 people on her Christmas card list asking each to create a yard-long panel representing "What I can not bear to think of as lost forever in a nuclear war." The concept was then adopted by Church Women United, spread by church newsletters, and publicized by Merritt herself, who spent two years promoting the idea through appeals to schools, families, church and women's organizations. At her Denver home, the headquarters of the "Ribbon Project" (Box 2206, Denver, Co. 80201) Merritt has now accumulated four miles of ribbon—all handmade—on 18"×36" pieces of cloth. Responses range from the sewn-on handprints of preschoolers to elaborate weaving and embroidery. For an audible as well as visual effect, one artist attached a string of bells to an



Gore (l.) and Rockefeller: Swing votes

administration to provide a go-ahead for the MX in exchange for a new "Midgetman" missile and flexibility in arms negotiations (which have since been suspended). Now, more than ever, Gore is obviously a crucial player in the MX drama.

In the House, it is harder to get an accurate count. Since votes on the MX have never followed strict party lines, the fact that the Democrats suffered a net loss of 16 seats in the House may be misleading. For example, the Democrats won four seats previously held by pro-MX Republicans—but it is not known for certain how these new Democrats (Tommy Robinson in Arkansas, Richard Stallings in Idaho, Terry Bruce in Illinois and James Traficant in Ohio) will vote. And while the Republicans seized 20 new seats, six of the Democrats they will replace backed the MX.

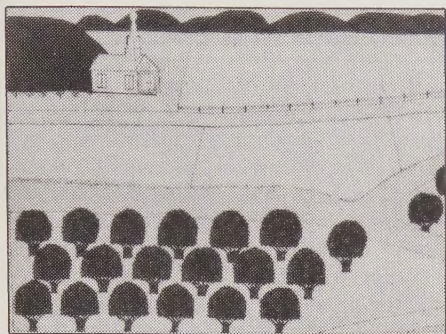
Still, 13 anti-MX Democrats did go down to defeat and there is little doubt that in the majority of cases their GOP replacements will vote with the President on the MX. This means that at best the anti-MX forces may have lost about five votes, at worst perhaps 14.

The last House vote, in May, went against the MX 199 to 196. But of the 36 members of the House absent for that vote, anti-MX lobbyists estimate that 21 oppose the missile, which means the actual anti-MX margin was nine votes. As Kathleen Sheekey, a lobbyist for Common Cause, points out, "We're still in the ball park. Some of the new Republicans might even be anti-MX."

The missiles will face a series of votes in late March or early April, when Congress considers fiscal year 1985 production funds for 15 missiles. This is expected to be the first key arms control test of the new Congress.

—David Corn





**The Peace Ribbon: Overwhelming response**

applique of a person laughing.

All together, organizers hope to collect enough ribbon to envelop the Pentagon in 10 concentric circles. Each circle will be held by volunteers, leaving only the entrances to the building unobstructed, a condition specified in negotiations with Pentagon officials. After the demonstrators' arms get too tired to hold it up, the ribbon will be cut into sections: one for a permanent exhibit at the Peace Museum, the rest to be sent across the country as peace displays. Response to the request for ribbon has been so overwhelming that organizers recently took out permits that would enable them next August to wrap the White House and Capitol building as well as the Pentagon.

—Agnieszka Fryszman

## 1985 AGENDA

# Freeze To Debate Structure, Action

**T**he national Freeze Campaign may be headed for some dramatic structural changes, pending the vote of delegates to the Campaign's national convention in St. Louis this month. But the biggest debate may concern direct action.

At a meeting in Washington, D.C. in mid-November, the Campaign's national committee agreed to present several proposals to delegates which would chart new waters for the (until now) loosely-structured freeze effort. Dealing with one of the most sensitive questions with a kind of compromise, they recommended that local groups become membership organizations—but stated that this would not be a prerequisite for those groups joining the national Campaign's decision-making process. They also recommended that local groups work together to form state affiliates (only about six such bodies exist now). And they recommended that the Campaign's highly-informal leadership become a true representative democracy, with local

groups electing national committee members who will make decisions.

In terms of strategy for 1985 the committee recommended, as expected, a shift on Capitol Hill from the "quick freeze" to a comprehensive freeze effort, which includes proposed funding cutoffs. The Campaign would also assist the efforts by other groups to curb the MX, anti-satellite weapons and warhead and missile flight testing. The committee failed to reach a consensus, however, on what to do with proposals from its direct action task force, which had composed a detailed strategy for 1985 and 1986. Unable to integrate direct action into the Campaign's overall strategy, as many had hoped, the committee asked the task force to prepare a report—sure to be controversial—which would be considered separately at the convention. The report called for support for the spring march in Washington, "lobby-ins" (sit-ins) and other actions at local congressional offices, major actions (including civil disobedience at the Nevada test site) around Hiroshima Day, and a national moratorium day in October. One national Freeze Campaign staffer noted that the direct action issue has become "very polarized in the field, especially with regards to civil disobedience."

—Greg Mitchell

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WORKING ON THE HIGHWAY

# Activists Track Trucks

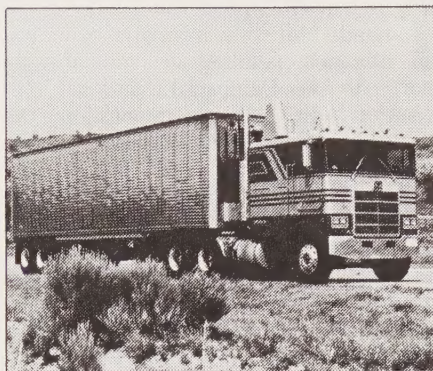
Nashville's Grand Ole Opry, St. Louis's Gateway National Arch, and the Oklahoma City Civic Center are not the sort of names that bring the peace movement to mind, but places like those could provide the backdrop for some important struggles in 1985.

That's because each is within sight of a major interstate highway in regions of the country frequently traversed by trucks hauling nuclear bombs and warheads and other strategic cargoes for the U.S. Department of Energy.

The Department's nuclear weapons highway transportation system has been in place for many years. It logs more than four million miles annually, touches all of the continental 48 states, and links up scores of factories and military depots by means of a fleet of custom-built, unmarked, heavily guarded vehicles called "safe secure trailers."

There is nothing especially new about that. What's new is an effort by peace activists to raise the visibility of the H-bomb trucks, which blend imperceptibly with other traffic on the interstate highways. The purpose is to demonstrate the nearness of the nuclear arms race—to remind the public how closely the H-bomb intrudes into their everyday lives.

The campaign was inaugurated in August by Nukewatch, the educational arm of The Progressive Foundation,



The trucks of our fears: "Safe, secure"?

based in Madison, Wisconsin. For eight days a dozen volunteers held a 'round-the-clock vigil, watching for outgoing trucks, at the gates of the Pantex nuclear weapons assembly plant near Amarillo, Texas. When state police kept observers from following nuclear weapons convoys, the Nukewatch team members took to the telephone. They alerted other peace activists to stand watch on freeway embankments and overpasses at cities in the path of the H-bomb trucks. In this manner the convoys were tracked for hundreds of miles across the Southwest.

The research team reported on its findings ("H-bombs On Our Highways") in the November issue of *The Progressive*. Then Nukewatch began distributing "H-bomb truck watch kits" containing offi-

cial Department of Energy photographs of "safe secure trailers"—with instructions on how to distinguish the vehicles from other 18-wheelers on the road. (Most telling clue: a uniquely shaped square radio antenna atop the truck cab.) Early reports of sightings came from a Chicago-to-Detroit bus driver, a firefighter in central Illinois, and a Department of Transportation worker in the Seattle area.

As interest mounted, Nukewatch began planning another H-bomb truck watch modeled on the first stake-out at Pantex. The second is tentatively scheduled for Oak Ridge, Tennessee, site of a key nuclear weapons production plant, in mid-December. As was the case at Pantex, Nukewatch volunteers would place the Oak Ridge plant under surveillance from roadside positions outside the plant. When nuclear weapons convoys left the plant, word of their approach would be telephoned to peace groups along the route, and then relayed from city to city. Since trucks are pretty much wedded to the interstate system, tracking them is easier than it sounds.

The Pantex truck watch was mainly an experiment to test the feasibility of identifying and tracking H-bomb convoys. The Oak Ridge truck watch would go beyond that, encouraging vigilers in targeted communities to draw public attention to the convoys through nonviolent means. Emphasis would be placed on publicizing the passage of the deadly cargoes through or close to densely settled areas.

Although the two are not connected, the embryonic truck campaign draws much of its inspiration from earlier efforts to draw public attention to the Department of Energy's "white train," which transports submarine missile warheads by rail from Pantex to naval bases in Washington and South Carolina. Both efforts are rooted in nonviolence.

"Remember that the H-bomb trucks are merely a symptom of the problem posed by the nuclear arms race," says a Nukewatch brochure aimed at those whose passions might be stirred by the presence of H-bombs so close to home. "We cannot stop the arms race by stopping trucks. Let the trucks serve instead as a way of galvanizing our determination—and the determination of our friends and neighbors—to do away with production of weapons of mass destruction and to work for a nonviolent social order."

—Sam Day

*Sam Day is an organizer of the Nukewatch Truckwatch program. Copies of the kit available for \$5 from Nukewatch, 315 West Gorham St., Madison, WI 53703.*

## Wrap-Up

For only the fifth time in its 13-year history the **Arms Control Association** in Washington, D.C. has taken a formal position on a major issue, declaring that the **1972 ABM Treaty** is "in imminent danger" of being

abrogated by both the United States and the Soviet Union .... Four new endorsements, including one by the **United Steelworkers of America**, bring the number of national labor unions supporting the freeze to 24 .... **Dr. Bernard Lown** and **Dr. Evgueni Chazov**, co-presidents of **International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War**, have been awarded UNESCO's \$60,000 1984 Prize for Peace Education .... In accepting the \$50,000 Albert Einstein International Peace Prize, former Canadian Prime Minister **Pierre Trudeau** denounced the "macho posturing" of members of NATO and called for adoption of a no-first-use policy in Europe .... While the most recent vote on the Kennedy-Hatfield **freeze resolution** in the Senate was still lopsided against it (55-42) the freeze did pick up three new supporters (DeConcini, Ford and Packwood) .... The release of a study, written on contract for the **Arms Control and Disarmament Agency** by Harvard University's William Durch, and completed in July, was withheld from the public until Election Day. A spokesman for ACDA said he did not want the study, which differs with Reagan policy on the desirability of seeking antisatellite weapons agreements with the Soviets, to become a "political football" before the election .... The EPA has scrapped standards that it had proposed last year for limiting **radiation levels** around nuclear weapons plants, calling the risks "relatively trivial" because so few people live around the sites .... In the 10th **Plowshares** action, five activists entered the Electric Boat Company shipyard in North Kingston, R.I. and hammered and poured blood on six Trident II missile tubes .



# Notes From Abroad



## South Pacifica

The tiny Pacific island nation of **Palau** has once again affirmed its nuclear-free constitution. The Palauans rejected in a plebiscite the Compact of Free Association which would have ended the country's status as a United Nations Trust Territory and given the United States the right to unlimited military use of its land for 50 years.

Under Palauan law, a 75 percent majority is needed to abrogate the country's constitutional ban on nuclear substances. In this latest plebiscite—the fifth since 1979—only 66.4 percent voted to suspend the constitution and accept the Compact, in spite of a considerable propaganda effort by the Palauan government and the U.S. State Department, which included an appearance on



Palauan television by President Reagan. The U.S. government planned to use one-third of Palau's territory for airfields, jungle warfare training areas and possibly a nuclear submarine base. By rejecting the militarization of their land, the Palauans had to give up the sugar coating on the pill as well: massive American economic aid, which they can ill afford to forgo.

The United States' desire for military access to Palau has intensified because of other developments in the Pacific. Palau is only 500 miles from the **Philippines**, where the pro-American dictatorship of Ferdinand Marcos is facing increasing opposition. Since an antinuclear Labor government was elected in **New Zealand** and barred nuclear warships from its waters, the State Department has feared for the solidity of the Anzus pact, the American-dominated military alliance in the South Pacific. And on October 21 and November 11 two more impressive rounds of anti-Tomahawk cruise missile demonstrations were held outside U.S. bases in **Japan**.

A meeting of the South Pacific Forum

(a consultative group of 14 nations) held in Tuvalu agreed to a draft proposal to make the **South Pacific** a nuclear free zone. The proposed treaty would ban the testing, manufacture and acquisition of nuclear weapons in the region; ban the storage and dumping of nuclear waste; and affirm the sovereign rights of South Pacific countries to decide whether nuclear-armed ships or aircraft should have access to their ports. Such a treaty would prohibit French nuclear tests in **Tahiti** and the dumping of nuclear waste by the United States and Japan, but it would not necessarily affect American military activities in the region. And the suggested zone stops well short of **Micro-nesia**, where the United States is negotiating a military alliance, and of the **Marshall Islands**, where the Kwajalein U.S. Army missile testing range is located.

- In **Turkey**, the 23 intellectuals and politicians who were sentenced to five-to-eight years hard labor last November for organizing a peace group, are facing a new ordeal. The Military Court of Appeals in Ankara has ordered their retrial, on the grounds that their conviction was based on "insufficient investigation." The first trial lasted 18 months; a second battle with the martial law authorities could be even more harrowing for the peace leaders, many of whom are elderly and in poor health.

Many observers in Turkey see the court's decision as an attempt to avoid a final verdict on the Turkish Peace Association's (TPA) case. Turkey has come under strong criticism for its human rights abuses from its NATO allies in Europe, though not from the United States. (Turkey is the third largest recipient of American military aid, after Israel and Egypt.) The TPA president, former ambassador Mahmut Dikerdem, was nominated for this year's Nobel Peace prize by West German and Norwegian parliamentarians, and has received a lot of attention in the Turkish press. Prime Minister Turgut Ozal's government (a thinly disguised military regime) does not want to lose face by succumbing to European pressure and acquitting the TPA members, nor to endanger its small rapprochement with the European Economic Community and the European Parliament by insisting on the original harsh sentences. The solution is to play for time by playing havoc with the lives of the TPA leaders.

- The **British Labor Party** has published a document outlining its strategy for nuclear disarmament; it would return cruise missiles, remove U.S. nuclear weapons and bases, scrap Polaris (Britain's "independent deterrent") and cancel Trident (its expensive replacement).

—Maria Margaronis

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*Next campaign only a year away*

# Election Lessons To Build On

**F**or arms control advocates, the real Day After hit November 7. It wasn't a bolt out of the blue. The landslide that reelected Ronald Reagan, who for many in the antinuclear movement personifies the arms race and the Cold War, was long in coming. Still, it crushed the hopes of activists who believed the nuclear issue could help elect a president more sympathetic to their cause.

But while few positive signs can be found in the staggering defeat of Walter Mondale, Election Day did hold some victories for proponents of arms control. In the Senate contests, Representatives Paul Simon and Tom Harkin, Democrats who boast solid records on arms control, were able to defeat incumbent Republicans who strongly supported Reagan's nuclear arms policies. And in the House, most of the representatives who make up the informal arms control bloc survived Reagan's massive victory and won reelection, many in spite of strong and well-financed opponents who had clutched Reagan's coattails. Of the 12 vulnerable incumbents on the American Security Council's "Anti-Defense Dozen" list, for example, only three representatives were defeated.

Though the electorate overwhelmingly endorsed Reagan, no ideology achieved a true mandate. And Reagan, the engineer of a tremendous military buildup, was forced to talk peace to over-run Mondale, who tried, with limited persistence and effectiveness, to turn the freeze and Star Wars into issues.

## DAMN LUCKY

Following the elections, movement leaders began to put the best face possible on the results. The bottom line analysis was that arms control and other progressive forces were able to stem the Reagan tide in Congress. "We are damn lucky to have done as well as we did, given the presidential campaign," says Mike Mawby of SANE PAC. David Riley of Friends of the Earth PAC notes that the PAC went 17 for 25 in its top priority races. Around 70 percent of Freeze Voter '84-backed candidates who were in "marginal races" won, according to Bill

Curry, director of that PAC. And the movement's gain in the Senate may finally produce an anti-MX majority (see page 8).

But all challengers—save one—in House races endorsed by movement PACs lost. And nationally, the subject of arms control never gained the prominence that many movement activists had hoped to see. In fact, it was Reagan who most effectively manipulated the war and peace issue, as evidenced by the infamous "bear-in-the-woods" television ads.

If one measured the outcome against the movement rhetoric tossed around earlier this year, then the election results can only be taken as disappointing. Bill Curry called for a "congressional build-down," trading pro-freeze politicians for anti-freeze lawmakers. Dr. Helen Caldicott, on the stump, exclaimed last April that the movement had seven months left to save the world—that is, to prevent a Reagan victory. Promises were made about the dramatic effects of registration drives and the gender gap. "I believe the 1984 elections will probably represent the final big test for the freeze movement," Randall Forsberg, the author of the freeze, wrote last January. Yet in the only direct test of the issue, voters in South Dakota rejected a freeze referendum (see page 16).

So was all the rhetoric overblown? Truth is, it doesn't matter after the fact. "The important message," says Randy Kehler, the national coordinator of the Freeze Campaign, "is that the American people are in favor of a freeze but they don't feel the freeze is an urgent necessity. To them it's not more important than short-term economics or personalities." The same can be said for arms control in general. The movement, despite the hoopla and energy exhibited by some activists, was just not able to push the arms race to the center stage in the national political debate. Some activists who work in Washington D.C. suggest that given the dynamics of the presidential race, perhaps it was unrealistic to expect this. The movement just doesn't wield such clout yet.



**Why are these people smiling?**

To some organizers who scorned electoral involvement, the results confirmed their suspicions. "This was to have been a watershed year for advocates of a nuclear weapons freeze," says Norman Solomon, disarmament director for the Fellowship of Reconciliation. "Instead 1984 turned into a washout." And what is worse, he adds, is that the nuclear weapons issue "slipped away. . . . In many ways abhorrence of nuclear war and even of its weaponry has become a non-sequitur of American political parlance, which can be pressed into the service of buildups, build-downs, or anything else."

## THE CASH CRUNCH

Though claims are made that the nomination of a pro-freeze Democratic presidential candidate, the inclusion of the moratorium concept in the Democratic platform, and even Reagan's swing in rhetoric all represent progress for the movement, activists, asked to cite gains in the electoral arena, usually point to organizational development and local races.

For example, Council for a Livable World and its affiliate Peace PAC raised slightly over \$1 million for pro-arms control candidates—just about double the amount it raised in 1982. For Harkin (a



★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

member of the board of SANE), it raised \$133,600. That's close to the entire amount Harkin received from all of organized labor. SANE PAC channelled \$200,000 in funds and services into several campaigns. Freeze Voter '84, according to Curry, raised over \$2.6 million, signed up 1000 full-time volunteers and fielded a paid staff of close to 200. Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament (WAND) PAC, in addition to contributing volunteers and money, produced radio spots that featured Caldicott endorsing candidates. And the Committee for a Strong Peaceful America, formerly the Peace Media Project, acquired about \$750,000 in air time for radio and television commercials that stressed the importance of considering the arms race when voting for a candidate.

So what did all this accomplish? "There is a solid group of peace leaders on the Hill who can now say for the first time that the peace movement really put its money where its mouth is," SANE PAC's Mawby asserts. "When the crunch came, we helped."

Following his victory, Senator-elect Simon noted Freeze Voter's contribution to his campaign. Bob Stein, director of Illinois Freeze Voter, estimates that his group (utilizing over 1000 volunteers), and other freeze activists identified more than 50,000 pro-freeze Simon supporters for the candidate's get-out-the-vote drive. Kim Tilley of the Simon campaign maintains that all of the arms control PACs were "invaluable for us," especially considering that Simon won by 71,000 votes out of more than 4.5 million cast. A spokesperson for the Harkin campaign also cited a "very active peace constituency" as one reason for Harkin's victory.

Kevin Smith, the campaign manager for Representative Les AuCoin, a leading MX opponent who won a tough reelection fight, maintains that "staff support from the peace movement had a major impact on the outcome of the race." Staffers from SANE PAC and Freeze Voter were at the helm of both the phone banking and canvassing operations of the AuCoin campaign in Oregon. "Because so much attention was focused on this race, by sending Les AuCoin back to the House we sent a message to other members," says Smith. "Those middle-of-the-road members, who watch which way the political wind blows, will see you can be a leader in arms control and still be reelected."

Although freeze and arms control issues never gained great prominence in the presidential campaign, in some states and congressional districts they played a

# How Can You Prevent WWII?

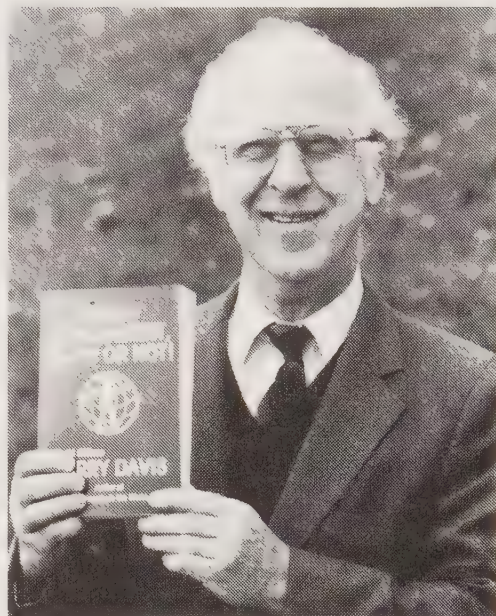
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significant role.

The issue appears to have helped Representative George Brown, a leading antisatellite (ASAT) weapons opponent who was targeted by pro-space weapons organizations, for example. According to a spokesperson for Brown, the "defense question" was a big issue in the campaign, with Brown's challenger, John Paul Stark, lining up with Reagan on Star Wars. Yet in what was expected to be a tight race, Brown, a Democrat, survived the Reagan sweep, beating Stark by a greater margin than in 1982.

## MONDALE GOT GRIEF

But peace and arms control is far from an automatic vote-getter, as strong pro-freeze Senate candidates such as Joan Growe in Minnesota and Nancy Dick in Colorado discovered. In New Mexico, state senator Judith Pratt, a peace activist, faced Senator Pete Domenici, the powerful Republican chairman of the Budget Committee. Pratt hit hard at military spending and highlighted the freeze. Domenici struck back, citing his strong support for the military. Pratt was swamped, winning only 28 percent of the vote. Her campaign illustrates the obstacles peace candidates face in areas where the local economy is dependent on military spending.

"Our economy is not diversified," says Dede Feldman, Pratt's press secretary. "All we have is mining, agriculture and the military." And a lot of the work on space weapons is expected to take place in the state. So is electoral work in such a situation worthwhile? Feldman notes that the Pratt campaign did mobilize a new constituency in the state. "We raised the issues," says Feldman. "That's a victory in and of itself. We'll take any we can get."

Many other challengers who focused on the freeze went down swinging. In Maine, Libby Mitchell, who made the freeze and PAC spending the cornerstones of her campaign, was soundly



Arms control issues helped (clockwise from left) Brown, AuCoin, Harkin, Simon

beaten by Senator William Cohen of "bulldown" fame. In Pennsylvania, state senator Joseph Hoeffel tried to make much of the fact that Representative Lawrence Coughlin changed his vote to oppose the freeze in the last minutes of the 1982 House debate on the freeze. To prove his arms control credentials, Coughlin played up his role in opposing ASATs. "Both jockeyed to be viewed as the peace candidate," says Charlie Kraybill, a SANE PAC staffer who worked on the Hoeffel campaign. Hoeffel lost by 13 percent.

In the presidential race, the Democratic challenger never seemed to find the way to turn the arms control issue into a positive campaign theme, despite his professed support for the freeze and various weapons moratoria. This failure—combined with the occasional hawkish remark, such as his threat to quarantine Nicaragua—turned off some movement activists, who concentrated their efforts on local races. But Karen Mulhauser, executive director of Citizens Against Nuclear War, who took a leave of absence to work on the Mondale campaign, notes that Mondale believed the

movement failed to deliver the backing he deserved.

"Mondale and his advisers thought he had taken a leadership role on the freeze," Mulhauser explains. "He talked about it. It was in his literature. And all he got was grief, with people in the movement saying his position was not strong enough, that he's not for no-first-use and that he won't cut the military budget." So Mondale pulled back, and a vicious spiral drove the movement and the campaign apart.

## PANACEA LATER?

As far as lessons go, there are plenty—both positive and negative—to be found. Many activists learned the hard way that in American politics the agendas in national campaigns are largely determined at the top. Influencing the debate, then, is much tougher than some activists presumed it to be. And many canvassers found that there was a good deal of basic education still to be done. They discovered, for example, that a surprisingly high percentage of freeze supporters believed that Reagan had endorsed the freeze.

Another lesson: there are no panaceas. Registration as a partisan tool only works if the other side does not counter. All the talk earlier this year about Democratic, black and progressive registration drives spurred the Republicans and their allies, such as the Moral Majority, to register their own. In many areas of the West and South, Republican-oriented registration drives found more recruits than those that may have favored the Democrats.

And the gender gap, which was once hailed by women's peace groups, was no magic cure for Reaganism. Though it may have played a role in some close House and Senate races, in the presidential contest the gap was only about 4 percent (compared to 10 percent four years ago) with 57 percent of women voters endorsing Reagan, according to a CBS News/*New York Times* poll.

But helping incumbents retain their seats and aiding a few successful challengers has encouraged those working with arms control PACs. They cite their participation in these races, their ability to raise more funds and motivate more volunteers than in 1982 as yet another sign of the ever-growing political sophistication of the movement. And they look forward to 1986—when the Senate class of 1980, those conservative Republicans who Reagan brought in, face reelection. Of the 34 senators up for reelection then, 22 are Republicans, many of them vulnerable.

But there remains disappointment

## And The Winners Are . . .

Results of some House races we followed all year that you may have missed: A couple of incumbents strongly supported by antinuclear PACs won more easily than expected (**Lane Evans** in Illinois and **Bruce Morrison** in Connecticut) but movement support proved critical to several who won in squeakers: **Bob Mrazek** in New York (he won by 51 to 48 percent), **Rick Boucher** in Virginia (52 to 48) and **Bob Edgar** (by 481 votes) in Pennsylvania. In a race that split movement

support, **Bill Green**, one of the few anti-MX Republicans, retained his seat in Manhattan. The four principal pro-arms control incumbents who were defeated were **Jim McNulty** of Arizona, **Frank McCloskey** of Indiana, **James Clarke** of North Carolina and **William Ratchford** of Connecticut. Two women with high hopes of winning open seats—**Dudley Dudley** in New Hampshire and anti-MX organizer **Frances Farley** in Utah—lost (Farley by only a few hundred votes). Only one movement backed challenger won a House seat: **Terry Bruce**, who defeated scandal-ridden Dan Crane in Illinois.



that the issue—as a paramount concern—never took off on its own. What does that mean for the movement? Representative Ronald Dellums maintains that the movement must stick with the fundamentals. And Randy Kehler notes that the movement cannot simply rely on sympathetic politicians to make its case. Mondale, like many politicians who support but may not understand the freeze, acted “as if the freeze was his soft ‘left’ plank, which he had to protect at all times,” Kehler asserts.

“We need to recreate the climate of urgency regarding the nuclear arms race,” Kehler explains. “We have not yet succeeded in conveying that sense of emergency.” And to do so requires increased personal commitment. “If we really thought the world could come to an end in a matter of years, why aren’t we making larger changes in our own lives?” Kehler asks. “We thought we could stop the nuclear arms race without that—get a majority with us, a few votes in Congress, win some elections and stop the arms race.”

That certainly didn’t occur in 1984. And the overwhelming message dictated by the electorate is that those who want to end the arms race still have a lot of convincing to do.

—David Corn

## Winning propositions

# Local Ballot Tests Taken

**L**ost in the media analysis of the small part nuclear issues supposedly played in the selection of candidates on November 6 was the fact that voters took the issues into their own hands in many communities around the country. They passed four Jobs with Peace (JwP) initiatives, including one in Los Angeles, created 14 new nuclear free zones (NFZs), and passed in Kankakee County, Illinois, a referendum sponsored by the local League of Women Voters chapter which called for multilateral reductions of nuclear arms.

Voters also defeated NFZ referenda in Ann Arbor, Michigan, and in Santa Monica, California; a JwP measure in Mendocino County, California; a South Dakota Freeze resolution; and a measure in San Francisco similar to a JwP initiative.

Proposition X, the binding JwP initiative approved by almost half a million voters in Los Angeles, is similar to measures passed previously in Baltimore and Pittsburgh. It requires the city council to publish in local newspapers an

annual report detailing local taxpayers’ contributions to the federal defense budget and alternative ways in which that money could be spent to produce jobs locally. It also calls on Congress to spend less on defense and more on job programs, human needs, and the arts. Jobs with Peace organizers estimate that about \$3 billion annually leaves Los Angeles for defense purposes.

The proposition’s passage by a 61-to-39-percent margin in Los Angeles was hailed as a major victory by the campaign. “Proposition X passed because of a remarkable unity created in the city between black and latino organizations, the labor movement and peace groups that has never been seen before,” says JwP organizer Joel Gayman. The campaign was able to target 1000 voting districts in predominantly poor areas with 30 paid staff members and hundreds of full- to half-time volunteers.

The proposition was endorsed by Mayor Tom Bradley and Congressmen Henry Waxman and Edward Roybal. It

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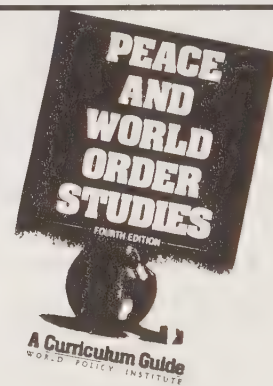
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was also backed by the Los Angeles County Federation of Labor, which donated vital office space and phones. "Without the labor and the minority groups we would never have gotten anywhere," says Gayman.

Non-binding JWP resolutions, recommending less federal spending on defense, passed handily in Racine, Wisconsin and two counties (Berks and Erie) in Pennsylvania. The JWP network now claims a record of 85 wins and 2 losses.

#### NFZ VOTES

In Santa Monica, home of the Rand Corporation, an NFZ proposal that would have made it a crime to store, produce, or research nuclear weapons in the city was defeated by a margin of 38-to-62 percent. Kelly Hayes-Raitt, campaign director of Citizens for a Nuclear Free Santa Monica, blames sensationalist campaigning by Pentagon contractors Rand and Lear-Siegler for the defeat of Proposition TT.

"For more than a year Rand said that it did not oppose the measure because it conducted no nuclear weapons work in Santa Monica, but then a week and a half before election day they did two [anti-NFZ] mailings and two full-page ads," says Hayes-Raitt. She believes the



campaign was timed so that her group could not respond fully and so that no one would know before the election how much money was spent opposing the measure. The NFZ activists specified that only applied research for weapons development would be banned, but that did not stop the No On TT Campaign, financed by Rand and Lear-Siegler, from warning each voter in a letter that you "could be arrested and jailed because of what you think and write . . . your friends and neighbors would be fair game for vigilante Thought Patrols sanctioned by this measure."

NFZ opponents in Ann Arbor, Michigan, financed by the University of Michi-

gan and four firms with Pentagon contracts, spent at least \$200,000 to hire the public relations firm Warn-Claussen-Glaub, which last year set up the Citizens Against Research Bans organization that successfully fought an NFZ measure in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Voters in Ann Arbor defeated the NFZ by a 3-to-2 margin.

The Ann Arbor and Santa Monica losses mean that no NFZ measure has yet been approved in a locality where nuclear-related work is being conducted. But NFZ advocates have at least "smoked out the opposition in Ann Arbor and Santa Monica," Hayes-Raitt says.

"It's obviously harder to pass NFZs in areas where weapons are produced or designed," says Albert Donnay, head of Nuclear Free America. "But that's what we have to do."

In Oregon nine counties and one community where no nuclear-related work is being done passed NFZ proposals, and Oregon could be on its way to becoming a statewide NFZ. Several of the counties in eastern Oregon are contiguous, and form the largest single NFZ in the U.S.—one-third of the entire state.

A binding NFZ referendum was also passed in Whatcom County, Washington. Voters in Northampton, Massachu-

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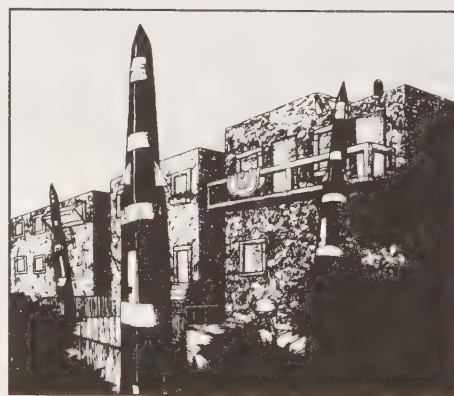
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setts, and Skagit County, Washington, and Napa, California passed referenda that were only advisory, although the Napa city government plans to create a binding nuclear free zone. The 14 NFZ's passed despite Reagan victories in all of the areas, garnering at least 60 percent of the vote in most cases. (Shortly before the election the county board of Union County, New Jersey, declared the county—which includes a population of over 500,000, the city of Elizabeth, and half of Newark International Airport—an NFZ. And just after Election Day the New York City Council adopted an NFZ resolution by a 26-4 margin.) There are now 79 NFZ's across the country.

In Kankakee County, Illinois, voters backed a League of Women Voters proposal to call for reduction of worldwide nuclear arms stockpiles. "After we participated in the national League's study on the issue we became really alarmed about what was out there," explains county League President Suzy Ruder. "We started doing what we normally do—writing letters to officials explaining the League's stand, which is for reductions, not for a freeze—but we only have about 80 members and we decided that it would be better if we could get the whole county to take a stand." The League spent about \$500 to reach the approximately 100,000 residents of the county, and the proposition won 72 percent of the vote.

In South Dakota, however, 52 percent of the voters rejected a Freeze Campaign resolution calling for a freeze. Activists blamed Reagan coattails in the state. (Reagan took 64 percent of the vote there.) And, by a two-to-one margin in an advisory vote, the residents of Everett, Washington expressed support for the basing of a 15-ship Navy battle group, certain to carry nuclear weapons, in their city.

—Douglas Lavin

## More For Les

Two years ago, when Representative Les Aspin of Wisconsin was best known as a critic of wasteful defense spending, he received, according to Federal Election Commission reports, just \$1100 in campaign contributions from PACs run by weapons contractors. But now that Aspin has intervened on several occasions to save the MX missile, hammering out compromise agreements with the Reagan administration to keep it going, new funds are starting to flow. According to the latest reports available, Aspin through September this year had received \$19,750 for his reelection drive from two dozen defense industry PACs, including nine with MX contracts.

## Ideas That Work



By now, most of the world knows about those Brown University students who voted to have the school's health service stockpile cyanide pills for student use in the case of nuclear war. Every major TV network covered the story. So did AP and UPI. *The New York Times*. *The Washington Post*. *Pravda*. Phil Donahue. The BBC. And all of this accomplished without a single press release.

"We had one written up, but we never had a chance to send it out," says Jason Salzman, one of the two student organizers behind the cyanide campaign, which was undertaken to counter the "significant" decline in antinuclear student activism since the halcyon days of 1982. "Everyone's looking for something from the students," Salzman says, offering his theory on why the media stormed the Providence, Rhode Island campus. "Plus, the approach was shocking."

Shocking enough to jolt students (infamous at Brown, as elsewhere, for political apathy) into voting; turnout was up by over 200 percent from previous student elections. (The measure passed by 1044 to 687.) And the idea has already been picked up by other schools. Kids at the University of Colorado at Boulder nixed the cyanide stockpiling (2332 to 1689), and Salzman reports that several other colleges are planning referenda. A new group, Students Against Nuclear Suicide, has sprung up, and organizers say that they recently held rallies on 17 campuses.

While some Brown students treated the referendum as a joke, Salzman says that it still "generated an incredible amount of discussion. It made people realize what a sick society we live in—that 'carefree youth' is thinking about suicide." (Beleaguered Brown President Howard Swearer, in an attempt to calm the parents of potential suicides, said the school would not abide by the vote: "The University is here to affirm life, not negate it.") Alex Sichel, a junior, says that initially the referendum, "because of its scare tactics" made some students angry. "But then it got all this media attention, and it got validated," Sichel says. "Plus, it made you think about that last moment—a nuclear war breaking out and going to the health center for those cyanide pills. It personalized the whole issue."

Brown students have assembled a

packet of referendum organizing tips for other campus rabble-rousers. Prove you're out there by writing to Jacob Salzman, PO Box 5959, Brown University, Providence, RI 02912.

\* \* \*

William Gibson's antinuclear play, *Handy Dandy* (see NUCLEAR TIMES, Sept. 1984), premiered in 21 states over Freeze Weekend, and was read by celebrities like Ben Vereen, Richard Dreyfus, Jean Stapleton, Burt Lancaster, Julie Harris, E.G. Marshall, Patty Duke Astin, and Gena Rowlands. But most of the 87 readings—which grossed a total of roughly \$150,000 and were seen by 15-20,000 people—featured plain folks.

The successful production of *Handy Dandy* in Northampton, Massachusetts, for example, starred Dorothy Johnson, who runs a local bookstore, and John Hunt, a college professor. Both went on after six rehearsals with director Steve Wong, a drama teacher. The reading was held in a church, and everything—including the lights—was donated. Around 270 people attended two performances, which grossed \$1600. (Half went to the Freeze Campaign.)



Johnson and Hunt: Community theater

Wong says that *Handy Dandy*, with its minimal set and two characters—a middle-aged judge and an elderly nun who practices civil disobedience—is ideal for community productions. But he warns that you better get two very able actors (like he did) or two people who strongly resemble the characters in real life. And, he adds, the play demands a fast pace. "It's like an English comedy. It's gotta go bam, bam, bam," he says, "or it'll be sticky instead of poignant."

Robert Teague, who coordinated the project for the Freeze, says the play will be available to the public on an ongoing basis. (The Freeze Campaign, pending final negotiations with Gibson, will act as "agent," and collect a percentage of the gross.) Forget about staging a reading in New York City, though; Gibson's hedging his bets against a possible run on Broadway. Contact Teague at The Freeze Campaign, 158 Maine St, Greenfield, MA 01301 (413) 774-2265.

—Renata Rizzo



# Debate, From Top To Bottom

*Following Election Day, leaders and members of many national organizations met to discuss new strategies, issues and ways to promote unity within the movement. We'll report fully on these activities next month. Here we present four very different views of the debates over decentralization, single-issue politics and direct action.*

## Celebrate Diversity

Randy Kehler's call for unity within the peace movement is laudable, but its narrow focus on a freeze strategy is insufficient and, thus, unrealistic. There are many issues demanding urgent attention: the increasing U.S. involvement in Central America; the prospects for U.S. intervention in the Middle East; a steadily increasing military budget accompanied by cuts in social programs; and the development of new first-strike weapons systems. We can't unify the movement under the lowest common denominator. Instead, we should celebrate the diversity of the peace movement and look for ways to work together without subjugating one issue to another.

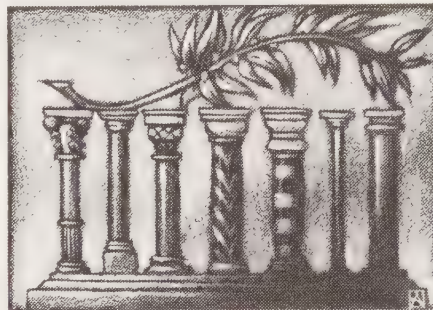
Previous attempts at forming an ongoing federation failed. They either died because they couldn't forge agreement on a single focus, or they became new, independent organizations without their own local base and program. The type of federation advocated by Randy tends toward centralization and moderation, in which being seen as "respectable" by funders and Congress dominates the programmatic objectives.

On the other hand, coalitions and working groups with limited objectives have been very successful. Despite intense internal problems, the June 12th rally coalition produced the largest public demonstration in U.S. history. The August 27th, 1983, Coalition of Conscience march in Washington, D.C., brought together peace, labor, and civil rights activists for the largest multi-racial, multi-issue demonstration in 20 years.

This is not to say that our coalition work cannot be improved, nor does it imply that we cannot attempt to build longer-range coalitions with bolder objectives. It does indicate that groups work together best when their issues,

priorities, and organizational integrity are respected.

The peace movement in the United States is a grass-roots movement. Of the thousands of autonomous local groups in cities, towns, and rural areas across the



country, most work on other peace issues in addition to (or instead of) the freeze. Any effort toward unifying this movement must take into account the whole range of activities at the grass-roots level. Unity within the peace movement is a necessity, as is some form of national coordination. But unity must be based upon a shared vision, not a dictate to follow a narrow path.

—Bruce Cronin

Mobilization for Survival  
New York, N.Y.

## Centralization: Not a Dirty Word

In Howard Ehrlich's Forum response in September to Randy Kehler's call for unity among peace organizations, he correctly stressed the paradoxical problems involved in centralizing an almost inherently decentralized movement. Ehrlich chose to stand strictly by his sentiments of decentralization, and allow the paradox to remain as insoluble; this is unfortunate, as solving that paradox and bringing unity to our movement is the crisis step to be surmounted in the foreseeable future. The record of history clearly shows that while small and personalized peace groups have had their moments, the world's governments have more than compensated to lead us now to the brink of nuclear annihilation. The decentralized groups of the past have hardly made a dent in what Ehrlich calls the "fundamental structures of society that produce war."

Pervading Ehrlich's letter was the fear that a centralized movement would consolidate and destroy the (necessarily)

community-based nature of most peace groups, thus actually disrupting the peace movement. What I don't understand is why this erosion must invariably be so. To centralize does not mean that we all become ineffectual, submissive members of one huge, power-hungry national peace movement. It can simply mean that we use our community bases to voice common ideas and employ common methods which prove successful in other areas. The best example of a successful nonviolent revolution—India's quest for independence—was built on exactly this model of centralized methods (national strikes) and ideas (universal nonviolence) practiced on a very decentralized level in hundreds of thousands of villages. The resulting unity brought the Indians the strength necessary to control a hostile government and win their freedom. *And they did it within the rules of the existing system.*

Of course many technical difficulties are presented by a grass-roots movement with a centralized direction. Suggesting that value conflicts and power struggles within the movement are such problems, however, is antithetical to the process of peace. I would feel shame to know that these same groups which profess to teach peaceful co-existence could not even get along themselves. Is this not the very power-mongering "old form of political organizing" which Ehrlich warns us against in centralization? If this is a true description of the groups comprising our peace movement, then our prospects would indeed be bleak. But I do not believe this to be so.

Centralization and decentralization are not diametrically opposed value systems. They are but two contrasting poles on the single continuum of group organization, the continuum being subordinated (in this case) to the value and goal of peace. Used correctly, these two methods of organization should not conflict with each other, but rather reinforce and perpetuate each other. We have neither the ability nor the right to change the fundamental structures of our society if we cannot first *use them as they exist*. The peace movement must centralize to control the society which produces wars, or else that society will most surely continue to control everyone within it.

—Gordon Clark  
Doylestown, Pa.



## Local Resistance

I've thought quite a bit about Randy's plea for a common voice. The European peace movements have been going through similar stuff for years, and Canadian activists are beginning to consider "federation" as well. Every significant resistance movement in this country—antislavery, suffragette, civil rights, antiwar, antinuclear power, environmental—has faced the same questions. All these movements were divided, some viciously so, over strategy, tactics, and goals, and all made various attempts at reconciliation and unification. Most attempts at unification failed, but all these movements nevertheless succeeded in winning major victories.

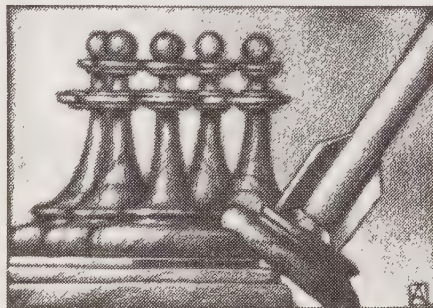
Maybe their work would have been easier if they had been united; it certainly would have been easier, however, if they had spent less time and energy fighting amongst themselves about *becoming* united. Organizational structures at the national level were far less important to the success of these movements than the various resistance tactics and confrontational strategies that they employed at the local level, directed not just at elected representatives and the president but at society as a whole.

I cringe at the thought of a "national peace movement" installed from the top down. Power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely. What is important, I believe, is that we resist the temptation to "play politics," which seems to be the direction in which the Freeze Campaign is headed, and that we focus instead on stopping the arms race *ourselves*. Neither Reagan, nor Congress, has the slightest intention of doing it for us.

Although I applaud Randy's appeal for collaboration and cooperation, neither requires federation. The problem is indeed that "we need to get our act together and be taken seriously"—by the public, the media, and politicians. The way to be taken seriously is to do something serious. There is no other way. We will never be taken seriously as long as our campaigns simply focus on petitioning national officials and Congress (e.g.: the freeze, no-first-use, cancelling the MX, etc.—the list is endless but the victories are few and fleeting). Talking peace is not enough. We must act, boldly and swiftly. Count me in with Sid Lens: civil disobedience, civic disobedience, economic non-cooperation, and broad-based resistance will bring about more change more quickly than any election of Democrats or Republicans.

With regard to *civic* disobedience: A great many "local authorities" (city and county councils, planning boards, local

health departments, etc.) have spoken out publicly and/or taken action against the nuclear arms race and the nuclear weapons establishment; hundreds have passed the freeze resolution and dozens the Jobs with Peace resolution; 112 cities and six states have rejected participation in nuclear civil defense planning; 79 communities have declared themselves Nuclear Free Zones; and over 200 have passed legislation banning the transport of nuclear waste and/or nuclear "material" through their communities. If a national convention of any sort is held, I think it is essential that key local elected officials be invited, either directly or through the two newly-formed organizations that seek to represent them (Local Elected Officials—USA and Local Elected Officials for Social Responsibility). True, they are "politicians" and I don't expect them to solve our problems, but they continue to play an extremely



important role, a role which the peace movement should acknowledge and encourage.

—Albert Donnay  
Nuclear Free America  
Baltimore, Md.

## Local Organizing

Something in our strategy has to change. We're seeing tremendous weakness in the informed support of the freeze. After three years of intense effort by the Freeze Campaign and other groups, recent polls indicate almost 70 percent of Americans still either believe President Reagan supports a freeze or don't know where he stands. We have to look beyond our present process to break through this critical weakness. The essential next step is to support our local leaders with the tools of classical grass-roots organizing, aimed at winning over Congresspeople and building the base we need to win. If we don't, we risk joining the long list of this century's only partly successful antiwar movements. There is no such thing as partial success in preventing World War III.

But the proposed Freeze Campaign direct action agenda for '85 looks like a diversion from that essential focus on local grass-roots organizing aimed at Congress. Since it doesn't build from a

strong grass-roots base it threatens to marginalize freeze adherents as a radical fringe, isolating us from our natural support with concerned working people and the middle class. Actions on the testing grounds and against the white train are obscure, and civil disobedience is still foreign to the great majority of our natural supporters. Activities like these almost guarantee low turnout. The Freeze Campaign will not only look extremist, it'll look weak. And we'll still be ignoring the need for a real grass-roots organizing agenda to build the support for local leaders and local—and winnable—agendas.

That may be the real problem we face in 1985, because it's at the local level that we either win or lose the battle in Congress against Reagan's nuclear war plans. Right now local groups don't have the skilled staff that can organize those grass-roots victories. One irony of the movement is that local freeze groups seem to have modelled themselves on the national office, maintaining a small core of workers and presenting themselves as clearinghouses. They don't have strategies for actively involving all the concerned and willing troops who want to be involved, or for supporting the potential leaders that are their greatest hidden strength. We need a breakthrough in perspective, and the support of experienced organizers on the local level, to help in all the tasks of grass-roots organizing: strategizing, agenda setting, canvassing, leadership identification and training, developing effective pressure on Congresspeople, building and maintaining an active membership, and fundraising for self-sufficiency. These are the skills we need to build a powerful base.

If we're going to support effective local organizing it will mean reordering priorities at the national Freeze Campaign's office by moving money and organizers out of the Washington and St. Louis offices and into the field. Local groups would have a strong incentive to move into the grass-roots work they've been reluctant to take on if we help them build sensible, winnable local strategies, and provide funds and experienced support. One first step is to familiarize local leaders with the tools of classical grass-roots organizing strategy. One resource for this is the National Training and Information Center, whose staff has built local and national grass-roots campaigns for over 15 years. They've developed an intensive workshop on strategizing for nuclear activists.

We talk a lot about decentralized structure, and building the grassroots. It's up to us to make it happen.

—John Rosen  
Central Virginia Freeze Campaign  
Afton, Va.



...through the darkness, a search for light.

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# Resources

## ARMS CONTROL

**Deadly Gambits** by Strobe Talbott, the book that Walter Mondale mentioned approvingly in the second presidential debate, documents how the Reagan administration engineered the present stalemate in arms talks—especially the events before and after the "walk in the woods" taken by the chief American and Soviet negotiators at the INF talks, and the maneuvers of State Department hardliners and moderates. Reads like a John LeCarré novel. The problem is it's real. (Knopf, \$17.95).

**Record of Failure:** The Reagan Administration and Arms Control, by the North Carolina SANE Education Fund. If you haven't got time to absorb Talbott's detailed account, this 20-page report summarizes the same developments. (\$1.00 each or 75¢ for five or more from SANE, 711 G Street SE, Washington, DC 20003.)

## CALENDARS

**How Shall We Live Together?** The War Resisters League Calendar. Introduction by Grace Paley, illustrations by Heidi Brandt. A speech by a 19th century Indian chief, a poem by a contemporary Indian writer, and another by a feminist all emphasize the world's natural beauty and the importance of living in it in harmony. (\$6 each, 4 for \$22 from the War Resisters League, 339 Lafayette Street, New York, NY 10012).

**Forbidden Faces.** The 1985 Fellowship of Reconciliation calendar is part of its US-USSR Reconciliation Program, and features photos of ordinary Soviet citizens

## SPECIAL MENTION

**The Fallacy of Star Wars:** Why Space Weapons Can't Protect Us, edited by John Tirman. This book is based on two studies, one on ballistic missile defense and one on anti-satellite weapons, conducted by two panels of scientists assembled by the Union of Concerned Scientists. Panel members included such distinguished physicists as Richard Garwin, Victor Weisskopf, and Hans Bethe. Their handbook explains what BMD and ASAT concepts are in the works, why the foolproof defense system that they are supposed to provide is impossible to achieve, why these systems will never be cost-effective, and how continued research and development will shred, step-by-step, the 1972 ABM treaty with the Soviet Union. A useful guide for the next phase of the arms race and its dangers. (Vintage paper, \$4.95).



taken by American visitors, along with excerpts from a Wendell Berry poem, "To a Siberian Woodsman." (\$6 plus postage from Fellowship of Reconciliation, Box 271, Nyack, NY 10960.)

**Can't Kill the Spirit.** The 14th edition of the Syracuse Cultural Workers Project's Peace Calendar features 12 striking drawings and photos, including a Nicaraguan mural, peace cranes from Hiroshima, and anti-war rallies. (\$6.75 each, 3 for \$19 plus \$1.50 postage from Syracuse Cultural Workers Project, PO Box 6367, Syracuse, NY 13217).

## FOR EDUCATORS

Two new resources are available from Educators for Social Responsibility. The unusually comprehensive **Why Nuclear Education: A Sourcebook for Educators and Parents** looks at different approaches to teaching in the nuclear age and reviews available materials for all levels of schooling, including the university. In the new video tape, **A Place to Begin: An Approach to Nuclear Education**, Roberta Snow combines classroom discussions with advice to teachers on how to deal with students' fears while developing their critical thinking skills. (Sourcebook \$5, video tape rental \$25 for ESR members, \$35 for non-members, from ESR, 23 Garden St, Cambridge, MA 02138).

## POSTERS

**Twinkies and Thermonuclear War.** This poster of the top 50 nuclear weapons contractors and the consumer products they make brings home the pervasiveness of the military-industrial complex. For example, ITT, the 36th largest contractor, which makes igniters for the Pershing 2 missile, also owns Twinkies, Wonderbread, Scott's Turf Builder, Morton Frozen Foods, and Sheraton hotels. The poster, which accompanies an issue of *The Grapevine*, a quarterly which provides information about international boycotts for shoppers "with a conscience," is \$3. Subscriptions to *The Grapevine* are \$12 a year from PO Box 1319, Ames, IA 50010.

## COMPUTER PROGRAMS

**Nuclear Realities** is a good present for young war games-enthusiasts and computer buffs. This Apple Computer program illustrates the power of the worldwide nuclear arsenal, and requires an Apple II with a minimum of 48K of memory, one of the most common in schools. (\$20, including postage, from David Chandler, PO Box 309, La Verne, CA 91750).

## BOOKS

**What Will It Take To Prevent Nuclear War?**, compiled and edited by Pat Farren. Three years ago Farren, editor of the

American Friends Service Committee's New England newsletter, *Peacework*, circulated 25,000 fliers, requesting grassroots responses to the question posed by the title of this book. More than 1,000 people responded. One person simply sent in a postcard with this solution: "A virus that eats metal." In this earnest, low-key book Farren presents more than 200 proposals from a wide range of individuals, known (Holly Near, the Reverend Malcolm Boyd, Senator Paul Tsongas, Howard Fast, and baseball pitcher Bill Lee, among others) and unknown alike. (\$6.95 from Schenkman Publishing, 331 Broadway, Cambridge, MA 02138)



## One reason for peace: The Pacific Ocean

**57 Reasons Not to Have a Nuclear War**, by Marty Asher, drawings by Lonni Sue Johnson. A colorful, pocket-sized collection of endearing drawings illustrating, the author says, "the things we take for granted but would miss," ranging from the romantic—Lena Horne—to the everyday—ice cream. (Warner paper, \$4.95).

**The Road from Hiroshima**, by Marc Kaminsky. An extraordinary sequence of 34 poems which evokes, in chilling images, the bombing of Hiroshima and its aftermath. Kaminsky, author of four previous books of poems, based this work on the stories of survivors; this must be one of the few books of narrative poetry with a list of "Notes" and "Sources" at the end. But Kaminsky's graceful evocation of individual experience—and his mixing of "the actual and the imaginary"—keep this from being a diatribe in verse. "The Power that binds/ the atom ceased being invisible/ and separated my brothers/ from the shadows they cast." (Simon and Schuster, \$9.95).

## JOBS AND PEACE

**The Choice is Clear: Jobs With Peace.** A 13-minute slide show aimed at union members and the unemployed, but also suitable for freeze activists. The program explains unemployment and plant closings as the natural result of 50¢ out of

every tax dollar going to the defense industry. (\$10 rental/\$60 purchase from Jobs with Peace Campaign, 76 Summer St, Boston, MA 02110 617-338-5783.)

**Labor Primer for Peace**, a special edition of Economic Notes, published for the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign by Labor Research Associates. This pithy 20-page guide details the effects of nuclear war, discusses defense spending and the economy, and emphasizes the key role of labor in staving off the potentially disastrous economic consequences of the buildup. (40¢ each, 50 for \$20 plus \$2 postage from Labor Research Associates Inc., 80 East 11 St, Room 634, New York, NY 10003).

**Economic Conversion: Revitalizing America's Economy**, edited by Suzanne Gordon and Dave McFadden. This collection of 14 essays offers the most detailed, up-to-date explanation of conversion—switching economic focus from military production to more socially useful industry, without sacrificing jobs and profits. The contributors, all experts from the United States and Europe, cover recent economic history, the necessity for a conversion program, and case studies—notably the conversion plan developed by workers at Lucas Aircraft in Great Britain, and some attempts to apply the British experience to McDonnell Douglas. Finally, American organizers offer suggestions on how to make conversion possible here. (\$12.95 paper, Ballinger Publishing Company, 54 Church Street, Cambridge, MA 02138. To order by phone, call 1-800-638-3030.)

**Military Spending Data Base.** For the first time comprehensive data on the defense industry and the performance of elected officials have been brought together in one place on a district-by-district basis. The Defense Budget Project of the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities can provide individuals the names of local military contractors, the size of their defense contract and what weapons they work on, as well as how much money they donated to congressional candidates and how those officials have voted. (For more information call Paul Murphy, 202-546-9737, or write the Project at 236 Massachusetts Ave NE, Suite 505, Washington, DC 20002.)

**From the Poor to the Pentagon.** This packet documents the dramatic shift, since 1981, in funds from social programs to defense. The fact sheets and graphics illustrate where the Federal budget has gone, the connection between the military budget and the deficit, and the effects of the Reagan budget on low-income domestic programs. (\$3 from Military/Domestic Education Project, Coalition on Block Grants and Human Needs, 1000 Wisconsin Ave, NW, Washington, DC 20007 202-342-0726). □



## EARLY WARNINGS

(continued from page 5)

and does most harm to atomic veterans, who are already prohibited from suing the government, and thus in effect have no one left to sue.

"It's as if someone hit you with a car and then got a retroactive bill passed which simply declared them not liable," says Gordon Erspamer, a San Francisco lawyer involved in several test-related suits. Dorothy Legarreta of the National Association of Radiation Survivors (NARS), has called the legislation "a license to kill."

Equally surprising is the fact that the statute was passed without watchdogs in Congress—or in the atomic veterans community—hearing about it for several weeks. In 1983 an almost identically-worded section was inserted into a Department of Energy bill but was rejected in the House. As a result, says Espamer, "this year everyone was monitoring the DOE, and the Administration slipped the language into the DoD bill instead." This time the section only appeared in the Senate version, and apparently was never discussed in the House-Senate committee. NARS suspects that the section was written by lawyers for the University of California at Berkeley, which monitored early atomic tests and which was named in the bulk of lawsuits in state courts.

NARS now hopes that its allies in Congress will try to reverse the bill in the next session, and a staffer for Representative Ronald Dellums agrees that such a move is likely. But according to Erspamer, a lobbying effort to get the section repealed may be too expensive for disabled vets to undertake. More likely would be a federal court case attacking the section's constitutionality. ☐

## COMMUNITY BULLETIN BOARD

### ASSOCIATIONS

**Bertrand Russell Society.** Information: NT, RD 1, Box 409, Coopersburg, PA 18036.

Looking for a job? Why not advertise your skills in the classifieds. Remember—it's read by just about every antinuclear organization in the country.

### GOOD READING

**PEACEMAKING IN YOUR COMMUNITY: A HANDBOOK FOR LOCAL ORGANIZERS.** A practical guide for organizing on peace and justice issues at the local level. 48 pages. Attractive—informative. \$3.50 Fellowship of Reconciliation, Box 271, Nyack, N.Y. 10960.

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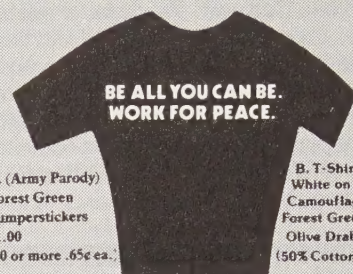
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## NATIONWIDE/ONGOING ON THE AIR

NUCLEAR TIMES editor Greg Mitchell has prepared four reports on his month-long trip to Hiroshima and Nagasaki this summer for the In The Public Interest radio program syndicated in 50 states. For information on air dates in your area, *contact*: IPI, 2000 P St NW, Ste 315, Washington, DC 20036 (202) 887-6737.

## INSTITUTING PEACE

United Ministries in Education's Peace Making in Education Program announces the 1985 Program of Peace Education Institutes, to be offered at The University for Peace, Costa Rica; The University of California, Irvine, California; The University of Alberta, Edmonton, Canada; and the Teachers College, Columbia University, New York City. For more information, *contact*: Peacemaking in Education, PO Box 171, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, NY 10027.

## SOVIET TOUR

From **January 27 - February 12**, an interfaith delegation of Soviet women will participate in a four-day retreat in Santa Barbara, CA, followed by a tour of the United States. The Soviet women's itinerary includes Minneapolis, Philadelphia, New York, and possibly Vermont. *Contact*: The Fellowship of Reconciliation, PO Box 271, Nyack, NY 10960 (914) 358-4601.

## DISARMING IMAGES

The "Art for Nuclear Disarmament" tour of works by well-known contemporary artists (Oldenburg, Rauschenberg and others) continues, at San Diego State University Art Gallery, San Diego, CA (**through Dec 22**); at the Museum of Art, Washington State University, Pullman, WA (**Feb 11 through March 3**); and the New York State Museum, Albany, NY (**March 24 through June 2**). *Contact*: Moe Foner, District 1199, Cultural Center, Inc., 330 W 42 St, New York, NY 10036 (212) 947-1944.

## DECEMBER 6

### ILLINOIS

• **Chicago** Exhibition, "The Ribbon—A Celebration of Life," featuring 200 panels of the ribbon that will encircle the Pentagon on August 6, 1985. Included in the exhibition is a brief history of the Ribbon, and plans for the project's future; **through January 3**. *Contact*: The Peace Museum, 430 W Erie St, Chicago, IL 60610 (312) 440-1860.

### NEW YORK

• **New York** Peace Essay Contest for NYC High School Students on "What We Can Do To Achieve Peace." Sponsored by the Committee for a SANE Nuclear Policy; approved by NYC Board of Education. Judges: Colleen Dewhurst, Seymour Melman, Miriam Friedlander. **Deadline: January 30**. *Contact*: SANE, 15 E 26 St, New York, NY 10001 (212) 683-4151.

### OHIO

• **Delaware** Art show featuring Ohio artists commissioned to create works on the subject of the nuclear age; Ohio Wesleyan University, Humphreys Hall; **through Dec 31**. *Contact*: Richard Elias, Department of English, Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, OH 43015 (614) 369-4431 ext 101.

# Calendar

**A free listing of antinuclear events from coast-to-coast  
Please submit events as soon as they are scheduled  
January events due by December 7**

## DECEMBER 7

### CALIFORNIA

• **Hayward** Exhibit, "A Vision of Peace: Young People's Art"; C.E. Smith Museum, 4047 Meiklejohn Hall, Cal-State Hayward. *Contact*: Dorothy McElhiney, Anthropology Department, Cal State University, Hayward, CA 94542 (415) 881-3168.

• **Livermore** Civil disobedience at Site 300, Lawrence Livermore testing facility for nuclear bomb detonators. *Contact*: Livermore Action Group, 3126 Shattuck Av, Berkeley, CA 94705 (415) 644-3031.

### MISSOURI

• **St. Louis** Fifth Annual National Conference of the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, "Celebration and Challenge," with Cesar Chavez, Randall Forsberg, and Randy Kehler; The The Bel-Air Hilton, **through Dec 9**. Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign National Clearinghouse, 3195 S Grand St, St. Louis, MO 63118 (314) 771-6211.

## DECEMBER 8

### REGIONAL

Physicians for Social Responsibility (PSR) will be holding two regional meetings: one in **Birmingham, Alabama**, for the Southeast, and one in **Los Angeles** for the Pacific region; **through Dec 9**. *Contact*: PSR, 639 Massachusetts Av, Cambridge, MA 02139 (617) 491-2754.

### CALIFORNIA

• **Berkeley** Conference, "The Psychological Effect of the Nuclear Threat on Children: Strategies for Action," with speakers, workshops, and more; continuing education credit available; University of California, Berkeley Extension Center, **through Dec 9**. *Contact*: Barbara Kahn, U.C. Extension Center, Department of Letters and Science, 2223 Fulton St, Berkeley, CA 94720 (415) 649-1061.

### INDIANA

• **West Lafayette** Third annual Peaceable Market, to provide a peaceful place to buy gifts from local craftspeople and to promote non-profit peace groups; St Thomas Aquinas Center. *Contact*: The University Church, PO Box 3024, West Lafayette, IN 47906.

### MINNESOTA

• **Minneapolis** Initial workshop on study to develop recommendations for improving the United Nation's peace-keeping and conflict resolution efforts in world danger spots; American Association of University Women, 2115 Stevens Av S. *Contact*: Tom Atchison (612) 941-3508.

### TEXAS

• **Austin** Second annual Austin Artists for Peace art auction, with food, entertainment, an exhibition of drawings by

Hiroshima survivors on tour from the Chicago Peace Museum, and more; University Catholic Center. *Contact*: Austin Peace and Justice Coalition, 1022 W 6 St, Austin, TX 78703 (512) 474-5877.

## DECEMBER 9

### CALIFORNIA

• **Berkeley** Women for Peace Holiday Dinner, honoring Frances Herring, initiator of the group in the Bay Area, with film, entertainment and more; Shattuck Hotel, 2086 Allston Way. *Contact*: Women for Peace, 2302 Ellsworth St, Berkeley, CA 94704 (415) 849-3020.

## DECEMBER 10

### NEW YORK

• **Valhalla** "Preventing Nuclear War," with Dr. Victor Sidel and others; New York Medical College, Mental Retardation Institute. *Contact*: PSR/NYC, 225 Lafayette St, New York, NY 10012 (212) 226-6767.

### PENNSYLVANIA

• **Philadelphia** SANE Education Fund's annual dinner; Peace Award will be presented to Carl Sagan; Franklin Institute. *Contact*: SANE, 5808 Greene St, Philadelphia, PA 19114 (215) 848-4100.

## DECEMBER 12

### MINNESOTA

• **Osseo** Performance of *Peace Child*; St. Vincent DePaul School. *Contact*: St. Vincent De Paul School, 600 First Av W, Osseo, MN 55369 (612) 425-3970.

## DECEMBER 13

### MAINE

• **Gorham** Film, "The Last Epidemic," Hastings Formal Lounge, University of Southern Maine. *Contact*: The Maine Freeze Campaign, PO Box 3842, Portland, ME 04104 (207) 772-0680.

## DECEMBER 14

### MARYLAND

• **Ellicott City** Performance of *Peace Child*; Little Theater Around the Corner, **through Dec 16**. *Contact*: American Friends Service Committee, Middle Atlantic Region, 317 E 25 St, Baltimore, MD 21218 (301) 366-7200.

## DECEMBER 15

### NEW YORK

• **New York** Afternoon theater party for kids and adults; Truck and Warehouse Theater, 4 St. *Contact*: Parents and Friends for Children's Survival (212) 691-4709. Evening Holiday party with music, dancing and volleyball; Village Community School, 272 W 10 St. *Contact*: Mobilization for Survival, 135 W 4

St. New York, NY 10012 (212) 673-1808.

## DECEMBER 17

### NEW YORK

• **New York** General meeting of the Coalition for a Nuclear Free Harbor; public invited. *Contact*: The Coalition, 135 W 4 St, New York, NY 10012 (212) 673-1808.

## DECEMBER 21

### NEW HAMPSHIRE

• **Nashua** Christmas caroling and party for the Nashua Peace Center. *Contact*: The Center, 22 Meade St, Nashua, NH 03060 (603) 889-0049.

## DECEMBER 23

### PENNSYLVANIA

• **Philadelphia** Christmas Service at General Electric Plant, followed by a party at Asbury Church. *Contact*: Asbury Ministry, 3311 Chestnut St, Philadelphia, PA 19104 or the Brandywine Peace Community, PO Box 81, Swarthmore, PA 19081 (215) 544-1818.

## DECEMBER 26

### DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Feast of the Holy Innocents, week of actions at the Pentagon and White House, **through Dec 31**. *Contact*: Jonah House, 1935 Park Ave, Baltimore, MD 21217 (301) 669-6265.

## DECEMBER 27

### GEORGIA

• **St. Mary's** Vigil to protest the King's Bay Trident Submarine Base, followed by civil disobedience on **Dec 28**. *Contact*: Performing Artists for Nuclear Disarmament (PAND) Atlanta, 750 Kalb St SE, Atlanta, GA 30312 (404) 622-2206.

## DECEMBER 28

### IOWA

• **Rock Island** Feast of the Holy Innocents, featuring vigil and possible civil disobedience; Rock Island Arsenal. *Contact*: The Catholic Worker, PO Box 3813, Davenport, IA 52802 (319) 324-8431.

## JANUARY 1

### DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

"Nuclear Disarmament and World Peace: An Exhibition of Work by Calligraphic Artists," featuring submissions by more than 70 artists from around the world; Cannon Rotunda, Cannon House Office Building, US House of Representatives, **through Jan 17**. *Contact*: Nuclear Disarmament and World Peace, c/o Phyllis Goodnow, 220 19 St NW, No 807, Washington, DC 20009 (202) 387-6865.

## JANUARY 9

### GEORGIA

• **Atlanta** Three-day national training conference, "Grassroots Fundraising: Marketing Your Organization," with plenaries, group training sessions, workshops, and more; Sheraton Atlanta Hotel, **through Jan 11**. *Contact*: Center for Responsive Governance, 1000 16 St NW, Ste 400, Washington, DC 20036 (202) 223-2400.

**Compiled by Renata Rizzo  
with Agnieszka Fryszman**

*Thanks to everyone who mailed in events.*



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